hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kō* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

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157 appear to act more automatically than with keen and constructive intelligence.

The Ainu are not to be taken *au pied de la lettre*, for the illusions produced by ignorance and untutored imagination prevent anything like literal accuracy; but they are not what we may call conscious and immoral liars. A good example of this is my adventure at Horobets, when, although they knew that they would be severely punished by the Japanese policeman, the Ainu confessed their attack on me, and did not attempt either denial or evasion. They are often plucky, and even distinctly courageous; as, when out bear-hunting, a man armed only with a large and not over sharp knife unhesitatingly attacks this formidable beast, who sits up on his hind quarters, sure to crush the life out of his assailant should he miss his stroke. The Ainu, protecting his head with his left arm, and having taken the precaution to cover his back with skins, goes merrily for the embrace; and while Bruin squeezes, the hairy man splits its body open with the large knife.

152 The Ainu are cool-blooded. They are not subject to strong emotions, and therefore they are not much affected by dreams and nightmares. They are not affectionate except for a momentary impulse; but, like most animals, they are faithful 152 when they love. Mothers are fond of their children till they 593 have reached puberty; but after that the affection seems to fade away. Paternal love is much less strong.

150 The pure Ainu are comparatively honest people, which may 577 be due to the incapacity for being dishonest. In a country where there is no exact definition of property, where anybody can get what he requires without resorting to theft, there is no reason why everybody should not be honest. Then, according 183 to Ainu ideas, stealing is not always stealing. For instance, [685] if an Ainu, without asking, takes away some of the salmon caught by one of his hairy brethren, he will be blamed for it, he will get into a row, and probably be beaten; but if the theft is perpetrated on a Japanese or a stranger he will be praised, though the Ainu well knows that he is not acting right. Their desire is stronger than their conscience, such as [671] it is; and having no laws of their own to rule them worth speaking of, they often do according to their desire, without deserving the accusation of conscious dishonesty. It is exactly

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brains in bettering their miserable condition and filthy mode of living. They would have striven to make the beginnings of a history and a literature, or at least to have devised or adopted some mode of writing with which they could preserve these high ideas, and pass them on from generation to generation. Even their language is so poor in words as to hardly express their everyday wants. The Ainu are low in the scale of humanity. They have always been low; they have not sunk, for they have never risen. They have never done any harm in this world, and they will never do any good.

The Ainu are without laws, which, paradoxical as it sounds, to a great extent makes them good. People are never so good as when no harm can be done. There are indeed few crimes among them; no voluntary infanticides; very very rarely murders; no suicides; little theft, and as little treachery among people of the same tribe. Though usually retiring and reserved, they are hospitable on special occasions, and generous with what little they possess. The young show an instinctive reverence for the aged, without considering it a virtue or a duty. Cowardice is despised by the Ainu, but courage, endurance of pain, and hardship, drunkenness, and similar qualities, are looked on as the chief virtues in men. Punishments are seldom inflicted by Ainu on any of their tribesmen, and the crime must indeed be great to raise the whole community against the criminal. If by rare chance some great evil has been done, the chief of the village and all the men assemble, and decide on the punishment to be inflicted. Flogging is the general punishment for the lesser crimes, which, according to Ainu ideas, are theft and assault. The murder of a tribesman is sometimes punished by cutting the tendons of the hands and feet of the murderer, thus disabling him from hunting or fishing. If, however, the man murdered was of another tribe, or a Japanese, this Draconian kind of justice is not administered. Quarrels among tribesmen are settled by private retribution, and no one interferes either one way or the other. These quarrels, however, very seldom occur, as the Ainu are naturally a peaceful people. Imprisonment does not exist, for the simple reason that the Ainu have no prisons. They do not know what a prison is; neither is capital punishment practised by them. According to their own ideas they are not cruel to children, for we